

Message Text

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ACTION IO-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 EA-07 ISO-00 AF-06 ARA-06 NEA-10

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PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 OIC-02 SAM-01 OMB-01

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 5136

INFO AMEMBASSY CANBERRA

AMEMBASSY JAKARTA

AMEMBASSY KUALA LUMPUR

AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMEMBASSY TOKYO

USLO PEKING

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E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PFOR, UNSC, PT, PO, ID

SUBJ: PORTUGUESE TIMOR - UN SECURITY COUNCIL CONSIDERATION

DECEMBER 18, 1975

REF: USUN 6891 (NOTAL)

1. SUMMARY: ON DECEMBER 18, UN SECURITY COUNCIL (UNSC) HEARD STATEMENTS ON TIMOR FROM TANZANIA, GUINEA-BISSAU, USSR, JAPAN, AND PORTUGAL IN THE MORNING. INDONESIA SPOKE IN REPLY IN THE AFTERNOON. TANZANIA (SALIM) WAS DISMAYED BY INDONESIA'S INVASION AND REJECTED THE PRACTICE OF THOSE WHO GIVE THEMSELVES "THE RIGHTS OF INTERNATIONAL POLICEMEN." IMPLYING THAT INDONESIA'S INTERVENTION WAS IDEOLOGICALLY MOTIVATED, HE CALLED ON SC TO ACT DECISIVELY TO RESTORE CALM AND GET WITHDRAWAL OF INDONESIA'S FORCES. SALIM ALSO DEPLORED PORTUGAL'S FAILURE TO LIVE UP TO ITS LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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RESPONSIBILITIES AS ADMINISTERING POWER. GUINEA-BISSAU

(FERNANDES) BLAMED THE SITUATION ON PORTUGUESE MIS-MANAGEMENT, INDONESIAN MISINTERPRETATION OF TIMORESE SENTIMENT, AND TIMORAN POLITICAL PARTIES' LACK OF EXPERIENCE. HE HOPED SC WOULD TAKE A FRESH LOOK AT THE MATTER AND CONSULT WITH ALL PARTIES CONCERNED. USSR (MALIK) WOULD SUPPORT ANY CONSTRUCTIVE MEASURES TAKEN IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE DECLARATION ON DECOLONIZATION AND THE UN GENERAL ASSEMBLY (UNGA) RESOLUTION ON PORTUGUESE TIMOR (3485) (XXX). JAPAN (SAITO) URGED A CEASEFIRE, TALKS BETWEEN THE PARTIES, A UN PRESENCE, AND A STRONG UNSC APPEAL TO ALL PARTIES TO REFRAIN FROM ACTION THAT MIGHT CAUSE THE SITUATION TO DETERIORATE. PORTUGAL (GALVAO TELES) DECLARED THAT ACTIVE UN INTERVENTION WAS NECESSARY AND ASSERTED THAT PORTUGAL WAS PREPARED TO SEND NAVAL FORCES TO MAINTAIN ORDER IF INDONESIAN TROOPS WERE WITHDRAWN, INDONESIA PLEDGED TO REFRAIN FROM FURTHER "AGGRESSION" AND "INTERFERENCE" IN TIMOR'S INTERNAL AFFAIRS AND AREA COUNTRIES, PARTICULARLY AUSTRALIA, GUARANTEED PORTUGAL NECESSARY LOGISTICAL SUPPORT. INDONESIA (SANI), EXERCISING RIGHT OF REPLY, REBUTTED CRITICISMS AND ASSERTED ITS HOPE FOR A CONSTRUCTIVE SOLUTION. SANI SAID INDONESIA IS FULLY PREPARED TO COOPERATE WITH THE UN. END SUMMARY.

2. THE SC HEARD STATEMENTS FROM TANZANIA, GUINEA-BISSAU, USSR, JAPAN, AND PORTUGAL IN THE MORNING. INDONESIA, EXERCISING RIGHT OF REPLY RESERVED DECEMBER 16, SPOKE IN AFTERNOON. TANZANIAN PERMREP SALIM CONSIDERED THE PRINCIPLE OF SELF-DETERMINATION FOR ALL COLONIAL PEOPLES AS "SACROSANCT." HE STRESSED THAT "SELF-DETERMINATION MUST BE EXPRESSED WITHOUT INTERFERENCE FROM ANYBODY." HE WAS DISMAYED BY THE INDONESIAN INVASION AND DECLARED THAT ALL REJECT THE PRACTICE OF THOSE WHO GIVE THEMSELVES "THE RIGHTS OF INTERNATIONAL POLICEMEN." WHILE HE UNDERSTOOD INDONESIA'S CONCERN ABOUT BEING BURDENED BY REFUGEES, HE SAID THAT WAS NOT A LEGITIMATE EXCUSE FOR INVADING PORTUGUESE TIMOR. HE NOTED THAT TANZANIA HAD LIVED THROUGH DIFFICULTIES OF REFUGEES FLOWING IN FROM NEIGHBORING COUNTRIES BECAUSE OF COLONIAL OPPRESSION AND "OTHER REASONS." HE ALSO REJECTED INDONESIA'S ANALOGY OF "FIRE IN THE NEXT APARTMENT," ASKING WHAT WOULD HAPPEN IF THE POWERFUL STATES USED LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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THIS ARGUMENT TO TAKE ACTION AGAINST DEVELOPMENTS THEY VIEW AS AGAINST THEIR INTERESTS. HE CLEARLY IMPLIED THAT INDONESIA INTERVENED BECAUSE OF FRETILIN'S LEFTIST POLITICS, CITING REPORTS THAT INDONESIA HAD ADVISED THE UDT TO ACT AGAINST THE LEFT AND HAD INVOLVED ITSELF IN TIMOR'S INTERNAL AFFAIRS LONG BEFORE THE INVASION.

3. SALIM CALLED ON SC TO ACT DECISIVELY AGAINST THIS AS

AGAINST ALL INTERVENTIONS, WITHOUT REGARD AS TO WHO ITS PERPETRATORS MIGHT BE. THE SC MUST ACT SO THAT CALM IS RESTORED AND INDONESIA MUST WITHDRAW ALL ITS FORCES, FOR THE "THIRD WORLD" MUST LIVE UP TO ITS PRINCIPLES. SALIM STRESSED DISAPPOINTMENT THAT INDONESIA, WHICH HAD BEEN AN INSPIRATION TO THOSE UNDER THE "COLONIAL YOKE" AS WELL AS HAVING BEEN A FOUNDER OF THE NON-ALIGNED, HAD ACTED AGAINST PORTUGUESE TIMOR. SALIM DEPLORED PORTUGAL'S FAILURE TO FULFILL ITS RESPONSIBILITIES AS ADMINISTERING POWER, AND HOPED THAT IT WOULD TAKE A MORE POSITIVE ROLE. AS FOR MODALITIES FOR TIMOR'S DECOLONIZATION, THAT REMAINED WITHIN THE PURVIEW OF THE UNGA, BUT HE HOPED THE SC WOULD ACT TO IMPLEMENT ASSEMBLY RESOLUTION 3485 (XXX).

4. FERNANDES (GUINEA-BISSAU) DECLARED THAT THE MATTER TRANSCENDS THE PROBLEM OF PORTUGUESE TIMOR FOR THE IMPORTANT PRINCIPLE OF THE RIGHT OF EVERYONE TO BE FREE WAS AT STAKE. PORTUGUESE TIMOR MUST BE GIVEN A CHOICE AND NOT THE SUBSTITUTION OF "ONE COLONIZER FOR ANOTHER." HE ACCUSED INDONESIA OF VIOLATING THE CHARTER BY USING FORCE. HE BLAMED THE SITUATION ON PORTUGUESE MISMANAGEMENT, INDONESIAN MISINTERPRETATION OF SENTIMENT ON TIMOR, AND THE TIMORAN POLITICAL PARTIES' LACK OF EXPERIENCE. GUINEA-BISSAU HAD RECOGNIZED FRETELIN AND BELIEVED THAT IT REPRESENTED THE LARGEST SEGMENT OF THE POPULATION. FERNANDES CALLED FOR THE WITHDRAWAL OF INDONESIAN TROOPS. HE HOPED SC WOULD CONSULT WITH ALL PARTIES CONCERNED.

5. USSR PERMREP MALIK SAID THAT AN ARMED CONFLICT DEVELOPED BETWEEN GROUPS FAVORING INDEPENDENCE AND UNION WITH INDONESIA. HE DECLARED THAT OUTSIDE MILITARY INTERVENTION ONLY COMPLICATED THE SITUATION AND INDONESIA WAS IN VIOLATION OF THE CHARTER. THIS MATTER IS "AN AFFAIR FOR THE SC," WHICH SHOULD DO ALL THAT LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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IS NECESSARY TO NORMALIZE THE SITUATION. THE USSR WOULD SUPPORT ANY CONSTRUCTIVE SC MEASURES IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE DECLARATION ON DECOLONIZATION AND THE UNGA RESOLUTION ON PORTUGUESE TIMOR THAT WERE AIMED AT RESTORING PEACE.

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6. JAPANESE PERMREP SAITO SHARED THE GENERAL CONCERN AND URGED THAT PEACE AND ORDER BE RESTORED AND FOREIGN FORCES WITHDRAWN. FIRST, THE PARTIES SHOULD AGREE TO A CEASEFIRE AND ENGAGE IN TALKS TO BRING AN END TO STRIFE AND PERMIT FREE EXERCISE OF SELF-DETERMINATION. SECOND, TO EXPEDITE THIS, SC SHOULD ASK THE SECRETARY GENERAL TO TAKE NECESSARY MEASURES TO FACILITATE CONSULTATIONS AMONG THE CONCERNED PARTIES AND CONSIDER SENDING A MISSION TO THE AREA. FINALLY, HE HOPED SC WOULD ISSUE A STRONG APPEAL TO ALL PARTIES TO REFRAIN FROM ANY ACTION THAT MIGHT CAUSE THE SITUATION TO DETERIORATE AND DELAY DECOLONIZATION.

7. GALVAO TELES (PORTUGAL) STATED (FULL TEXT BY SEPTTEL) THAT PORTUGAL, AS ADMINISTERING POWER, MUST DO EVERYTHING WITHIN ITS ABILITY TO ALLOW TIMOR'S PEOPLE TO "EXERCISE THE RIGHT TO SELF-DETERMINATION AND INDEPENDENCE." HE HOPED THAT SC, UNLIKE THE UNGA, WOULD NOT FAIL TO "CONDEMN" INDONESIA'S
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AGGRESSION. GALVAO TELES STRESSED: "ACTIVE INTERVENTION ON THE PART OF THE UN IS NECESSARY"; AND "IT IS URGENT THAT A SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE OF THE SECRETARY GENERAL GO TO TIMOR" TO EXAMINE THE SITUATION AND PROPOSE APPROPRIATE ACTION. PORTUGAL IS ALSO WILLING TO COOPERATE WITH THE COMMITTEE

OF 24 SO THAT IT MIGHT DISCHARGE ITS TASK OF SENDING A MISSION TO TIMOR.

8. PORTUGAL IS PREPARED TO SEND "NAVAL MEANS" TO ENSURE ORDER AND BRING ABOUT DECOLONIZATION PROVIDED THAT: (A) INDONESIAN FORCES WITHDRAW FROM TIMOR; (B) INDONESIA DECLARES THAT IT WILL COMMIT NO FURTHER AGGRESSION AGAINST TIMOR AND REFRAIN FROM INTERFERENCE IN ITS INTERNAL AFFAIRS; AND (C) THE COUNTRIES IN THE REGION, PARTICULARLY AUSTRALIA, GUARANTEE THE LOGISTICAL ASSISTANCE "NECESSARY FOR PORTUGAL TO MAINTAIN IN TIMOR THE NAVAL MEANS AND MILITARY FORCES" MENTIONED. GALVAO TELES PROJECTED THAT, DURING THE FIRST STAGE, THE SECRETARY GENERAL WOULD SEND A SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE WHO WOULD INQUIRE INTO THE SITUATION, AND SUPERVISE THE WITHDRAWAL OF ALL INDONESIAN FORCES. PORTUGAL WOULD MAKE EFFORTS TO HOLD A CONFERENCE UNDER UN AUSPICES WITH THE POLITICAL PARTIES AND WITH THE PARTICIPATION OF OBSERVERS FROM COUNTRIES OF THE AREA WITH A VIEW TO CONCLUDING AN AGREEMENT ON HOW TO GUARANTEE THE ADMINISTRATION OF TIMOR UNTIL "SELF-DETERMINATION AND INDEPENDENCE." DURING THE SECOND STAGE, WHEN THE INDONESIAN PRESENCE WAS WITHDRAWN, AND THE FORM OF ADMINISTRATION DECIDED UPON, "PORTUGAL WOULD ENSURE WITH ITS TROOPS CLOSE COOPERATION WITH THE UN AND WOULD GUARANTEE THE MAINTENANCE OF PEACE AND ORDER" DURING THE TRANSITIONAL PERIOD. IF THE SC PREFERRED THAT THE MAINTENANCE OF ORDER BE GUARANTEED BY CONTINGENTS FROM VARIOUS STATES, WITH THE POSSIBLE PARTICIPATION OF AREA STATES NOT ENGAGED IN THE CONFLICT, PORTUGAL WOULD PARTICIPATE PROVIDED IT ASSUMED THE COMMAND.

9. IN THE AFTERNOON, INDONESIAN PERMREP SANI EXERCISING HIS RIGHT OF REPLY RESERVED DECEMBER 16, ANSWERED CRITICISMS. HE STATED THAT THE INDONESIAN VIEW OF PORTUGUESE NEGLIGENCE WAS SHARED BY MANY, THAT THE BANDUNG PRINCIPLES STILL GUIDE INDONESIA'S POLICIES, HE REGRETTED THE ACCUSATION OF AGGRESSION. INDONESIA'S PRESENCE IN TIMOR WAS AT THE LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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REQUEST OF THE PARTIES WHO DECLARED TIMOR PART OF INDONESIA AND THEREBY GAVE THE MATTER A "SPECIAL ASPECT." HE NOTED THAT A TERRITORY, NO MATTER HOW SMALL, COULD BE TORN BY CONFLICT AND BECOME AN "ARENA OF BIG-POWER CONFRONTATION" AND THEREBY ENDANGER THE SECURITY OF THE ENTIRE AREA. IN REFERENCE TO THE OE CUSSE ENCLAVE, HE AVOWED THAT ITS INTEGRATION INTO INDONESIA WAS BASED UPON A UNANIMOUS CONSENT. HE STRESSED, TOO, THAT, AT THE TIME OF SELF-DETERMINATION, THE ENCLAVE WOULD HAVE ITS CHANCE TO VOTE ITS FUTURE ALONG WITH THE REST OF PORTUGUESE TIMOR. SANI TOOK PARTICULAR UMBRAGE WITH SALIM'S IMPLICATION THAT FRETELIN'S IDEOLOGY WAS THE CAUSE OF INDONESIA'S ACTION. AS TO A ROLE

FOR PORTUGAL OR THE UN, SANI DECLARED THAT ANY ROLE MUST
BE THE RESULT OF CONSULTATIONS WITH THE PEOPLE OF THE
TERRITORY. HE HOPED FOR A CONSTRUCTIVE SOLUTION SO THAT
ALL CAN EXERCISE THE RIGHT OF SELF-DETERMINATION.
HE SAID INDONESIA WAS FULLY PREPARED TO COOPERATE WITH
THE UN.
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